

## MORPHOSYNTAX OF A DUMMY VERB 'HA-' IN KOREAN

Jung-Min Jo

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

[jjol@uiuc.edu](mailto:jjol@uiuc.edu)

In this paper, I argue that there is *do(ha)-support* in Korean, which is strong evidence that verbal inflectional elements are independently projected as formatives in syntactic structure. Pointing out that ambiguities shown in so-called 'VP-focus' constructions containing 'ha-' result from structural ambiguities, this paper has reinterpreted 'ha-' either as being one of 'VP-focus' in which case it functions as a main verb, or as being one of 'event-focus' in which case it functions as a dummy verb to spell out the XP left behind by XP focalization. Focusing on various 'event-focus' constructions, this paper argues that under the 'Ha-support' analysis and the assumption that verbal roots as well as verbal inflectional affixes are independently projected to the syntactic structure we can precisely capture a close relationship between 'event-focus' constructions and the corresponding simple sentences, and also correctly predict the distribution of aspect, tense and mood affixes, each of which is assumed to be the head of an aspect phrase, tense phrase, and mood phrase, respectively.

### 1. Introduction

This paper argues that there is a phenomenon in Korean similar to English 'do-support'. This argument will then be used to show that verbal inflectional affixes in Korean such as aspect, tense and mood are independently projected as formatives in the syntactic structure, counter to the lexicalist hypothesis and the Lexical Integrity Principle (Lapointe 1980, Selkirk 1982, Di Sciullo and Williams 1987),<sup>1</sup> which prohibit syntax from building or manipulating word-internal structure.

'Do-support' has been considered as evidence for the syntactic separability of INFL and V in English. For instance, in a sentence like (1a), a tense affix is attached to the verb root, but in (1b) these elements are separated due to the intervening negative particle 'not'. Hence a dummy verb 'do' is inserted for the tense affix to attach to.

- (1) a. John walked to the store.  
 b. John did not walk to the store.

Similar arguments have been made for Korean on the basis of so-called 'VP-focus' constructions like (2b) and VP-fronting constructions like (2c). As shown in (2a), tense and mood affixes are suffixed to the V-root. Under the assumption that the V-root and inflectional affixes are separate, if VP is focused as shown in (2b) the tense and mood affixes are separated from the V-root. So a dummy verb 'ha-' is inserted to provide a V-stem for the affixes to attach to.

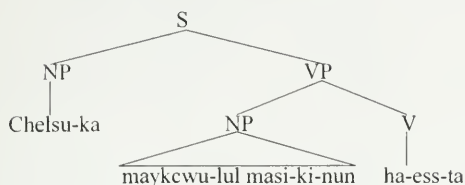
- (2) a. John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.  
 J-Nom the book-Acc read-Past-Decl  
 'John read the book'  
 b. John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-ki-nun ha-ess-ta  
 J-Nom the book-Acc read-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
 'It is the case that John read the book.' ('John DID read the book')  
 c. ku chayk-ul ilk-ki-nun John-i ha-ess-ta  
 the book-Acc read-Nml-Top J-Nom do-Past-Decl  
 'As for reading the book, John did.'

Y-J Kim 1990 questioned this analysis on two grounds – (a) the construction in (2b) is not or need not be VP-focus, as elements other than those in VP can be focused; (b) the construction provides no evidence for the syntactic separability of V and INFL, since INFL can be included in the focus. That is, as shown in (3), with regard to a simple sentence (3a), we have a VP-focus construction (3b), where a V-root and tense and mood affixes are separated. However, in addition to (3b) we have a similar construction (3c), where a V-root and tense affix are not separated.

- (3) a. Chelsu-ka maykewu-lul masi-ess-ta  
 C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Past-Decl<sup>2</sup>  
 'Chelsu drank beer'  
 b. Chelsu-ka maykewu-lul masi-ki-nun ha-ess-ta  
 C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
 'It is the case that Chelsu drank beer'  
 c. Chelsu-ka maykewu-lul masi-ess-ki-nun ha-e  
 C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Past-Nml-Top do-Decl.informal  
 'It is the case that Chelsu drank beer'

Hence, Y-J Kim claims that 'ha-' is not a dummy verb root inserted to carry Tense separated from the V-root. Y-J Kim suggests instead that the relevant  $V_1$ -*ki* and  $V_2$ (=*ha*)-INFL in (2) and (3) should be analyzed as complementation; that is, 'ha-' is a lexical V which takes a nominalized '-ki' complement. According to this analysis, then, a sentence like (3b) will have a structure similar to (4).

(4)



I refer to this analysis as the Complementation Hypothesis in this paper.

In this paper, I re-examine the above constructions and present new arguments for the original conjecture that sentences like (2b) provide evidence that a V-root and INFL elements are separately projected in the syntax. The constructions in (2b) and (3b-c) are not just of VP-focus; instead, I claim that what is focused is a VPSC (VP with an internal subject), an AspP, or TP, etc. Whenever an XP is focalized and hence the V-root or V-root-affix sequence is separated from other affixes by '-ki' (or other nominalizers), a dummy verb root 'ha-' is inserted to occupy the original XP position. I call this analysis the 'Ha-support' Hypothesis.

In section 2, I examine various types of focus constructions similar to (2b-c) and (3b-c) and their relationship to simple declarative sentences. I point out that the verb 'ha-' is ambiguous between a dummy verb in 'event-focus' constructions and a main verb taking a complement in the 'VP-focus' construction. In section 3, I examine those sentences which unambiguously have the dummy verb reading of 'ha-' and argue that the distribution of the dummy verb 'ha-' and verbal inflectional elements can be construed as providing strong support for the syntactic independence of verbal inflections in Korean.

## 2. 'Event-focus' vs. 'VP-focus' constructions

Section 2.1 looks more closely at the 'VP-focus' construction accompanied by the verb 'ha-'. I argue that the verb 'ha-' is ambiguous between a dummy verb, which is found in 'Ha-support', and a main verb taking a complement. Section 2.2 argues that the ambiguities pointed out in section 2.1 with regard to sentences containing the verb 'ha-' originate from structural ambiguity as well as lexical ambiguity.

### 2.1 The distinction between dummy verb 'ha-' and main verb 'ha-'

As already pointed out with regard to the sentences in (3), here repeated in (5), Korean has focus constructions like (5b). These seem closely related to simple declarative sentences like (5a).

- (5) a. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ess-ta  
       C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Past-Decl  
       'Chelsu drank beer'

- b. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ki-nun ha-ess-ta  
 C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Nml-Top do-Past-Dec  
 'It is the case that Chelsu drank beer'
- c. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ess-ki-nun ha-e  
 C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Past-Nml-Top do-Decl.informal  
 'It is the case that Chelsu drank beer'

That is, as the English translation shows, by uttering (5b), the speaker (or hearer in the question) confirms the event denoted by the corresponding simple declarative sentence (5a). In addition to (5b), we have a similar construction (5c), which also expresses a speaker's confirmation of the event denoted by a simple sentence (5a). Hence, I will call both (5b) and (5c) 'event-focus' constructions. As pointed out in the introduction, there is a difference in verbal morphology between (5b) and (5c). In (5b) the tense affix is attached to the verb 'ha-' and the nominalized root verb does not contain tense. On the other hand, in (5c) the tense affix is attached to the nominalized root verb and the verb 'ha-' does not contain tense. This difference in verbal morphology also brings about a difference in meaning. That is, while (5c) has an 'event-focus' reading only, (5b) has an additional reading, which I will call the 'VP-focus' reading, as represented in (5b').

- (5b') Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ki-nun ha-ess-ta  
 C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
 'Chelsu performed/was engaged in the act of drinking beer'

That is, in contrast to the verb 'ha-' in (5b-c), 'ha-' in (5b') is used as a transitive (main) verb, which corresponds to the transitive verb 'do' in English. Hence it has the same meaning and function as the verb 'ha' in the sentence (6).

- (6) Chelsu-ka pap-ul ha-ess-ta  
 C-Nom rice-Acc do-Past-Decl  
 'Lit: Chelsu did rice' (= 'Chelsu cooked rice')

Just as the transitive verb usage of the verb 'ha-' in (6) can be confirmed by the accusative case marker in the object, so the main verb usage of 'ha-' in (5b') can be confirmed by the availability of the accusative case marker attached to the nominalized V and by the fact that only the 'VP-focus' reading is available in this case, as we can see in (7).

- (7) Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ki-lul (pam-nac-epsi) ha-ess-ta  
 C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Nml-Acc night-day-without do-Past-Decl  
 'Chelsu performed/was engaged in the act of drinking beer (day and night)'  
 (≠/ It is the case that Chelsu drank beer)

However, in (5c) where the nominalized verb contains the tense affix, the verb 'ha-' functions as a dummy verb only. Contrary to (7), the attachment of the accusative case marker to the nominalized verb in (5c) is not allowed, as shown in (8).

- (8) \*Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ess-ki-lul ha-e  
 C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Past-Nml-Acc do-Decl  
 'It is the case that Chelsu drank beer'

The contrast between (7) and (8) follows from the plausible assumption that only the main verb usage of 'ha-' licenses structural case while the dummy verb 'ha-' does not.

The discussion so far suggests that the verb 'ha-' in focus constructions is ambiguous between a main verb and a dummy verb. In the following section, I argue that the two different readings of 'ha-' originate from structural ambiguity of the relevant sentences.

## 2.2 Two different readings of 'ha-' from structural ambiguity

The observation in the preceding section naturally raises questions of why ambiguities arise in (5b), but not in (5c). I claim that the two different readings in (5b) result from the two different syntactic structures as represented in (9).

- (9) a. [<sub>VPSC</sub> Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi]-ki-nun ha<sub>dummy</sub>-ess-ta  
       C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
       'It is the case that Chelsu drank beer'
- b. Chelsu-ka [<sub>VP</sub> maykcwu-lul masi]-ki-nun ha<sub>main</sub>-ess-ta  
       C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
       'Chelsu performed/was engaged in the act of drinking beer'

In (9a), the affix '-ki' nominalizes the VPSC, which is the VP containing the subject. On the other hand, in (9b) '-ki' nominalizes the VP excluding the subject. Here I assume that the nominalizer '-ki' and the topic marker '-nun' attach to phrases in syntax, like clitics, and hence in (9), '-ki' attaches to VP or VPSC, and that only the XP to which the affixes '-ki'/'-nun' are attached can be fronted. Therefore, the fronting of object and nominalized verb as a unit will be allowed in (9b) only. It is then predicted that we should have only main verb reading of 'ha-' with the scrambled sentence, which is the case, as shown in (10).

- (10) a. [maykcwu-lul masi-ki-nun] Chelsu-ka ha-ess-ta  
       'As for drinking beer, Chelsu did.'  
       (=/= It is the case that Chelsu drank beer)
- b. [maykcwu-lul masi-ki-nun]<sub>i</sub> [Chelsu-ka t<sub>i</sub> ha-ess-ta]

The reason that the scrambled sentence (10a) has just one reading is that it is derived from its corresponding underlying structure (9b), which has a 'main verb' reading, and allows scrambling of the nominalized phrase, as represented in (10b). On the other hand, it cannot be derived from the underlying structure (9a) which has a 'dummy verb' reading because the affix '-ki' attaches to the VPSC which includes the subject, and the object and nominalized verb as a unit, excluding the subject, cannot be fronted in the given structure. Hence, the structures represented in (9) naturally provide an account of why we get just one reading in (10a). As the structures in (9) show, since I have assumed the phrasal nominalization of '-ki' despite its lexical attachment to the verb root, it is predicted that the nominalized verb itself cannot be scrambled because '-ki' does not attach to V<sup>0</sup> but only to phrase levels. This prediction is borne out as shown in (11).

- (11) a. \*Chelsu-ka masi-ki-nun<sub>i</sub> maykewu-lul t<sub>i</sub> ha-ess-ta  
           C-Nom   drink-Nml-Top beer-Acc           do-Past-Decl
- b. \*masi-ki-nun<sub>i</sub> Chelsu-ka maykewu-lul t<sub>i</sub> ha-ess-ta  
           drink-Nml-Top C-Nom   beer-Acc           do-Past-Decl
- c. \*masi-ki-nun<sub>i</sub> maykewu-lul t<sub>i</sub> Chelsu-ka ha-ess-ta  
           drink-Nml-Top beer-Acc           C-Nom   do-Past-Decl

Therefore the nominalized verb alone cannot be scrambled, but the XP to which the affixes '-ki'/'-nun' are attached can be fronted.<sup>4</sup>

What if in (9) only the object *maykewu-lul* is scrambled to the front? Both structures in (9) allow the object *maykewul-lul* to scramble out of its base position and hence the resulting (scrambled) sentence is predicted to have both readings, which is the case as shown in (12).<sup>5</sup>

- (12) a. maykewu-lul Chelsu-ka masi-ki-nun ha-ess-ta  
           beer-Acc   C-Nom   drink-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
           'It is the case that Chelsu drank beer.'  
           'Chelsu performed/was engaged in the act of drinking beer.'
- b. maykewu-lul<sub>i</sub> [Chelsu-ka t<sub>i</sub> masi-ki-nun] ha<sub>dummy</sub>-ess-ta  
           beer-Acc   C-Nom   drink-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
           'It is the case that Chelsu drank beer'
- c. maykewu-lul<sub>i</sub> Chelsu-ka [t<sub>i</sub> masi-ki-nun] (cacwu) ha<sub>main</sub>-ess-ta  
           beer-Acc   C-Nom   drink-Nml-Top (frequently) do-Past-Decl  
           'Chelsu performed/was engaged in the act of drinking beer (frequently)'

The main verb reading of 'ha-' in (12c) can also be confirmed by the sentence (12c'), which is the same as (12c) except that the accusative case marker is attached to the nominalized verb. In this case the verb 'ha-' is used as a main verb only:

- (12c') maykewu-lul Chelsu-ka masi-ki-lul (pam-nac-epsi) ha-ess-ta  
           beer-Acc C-Nom   drink-Nml-Acc (night-day-without) do-Past-Decl  
           'Chelsu performed/was engaged in the act of drinking beer (day and night).'

Therefore this observation suggests the correctness of the structures represented in (9), which consequently supports the claim that the two different readings of the sentence containing the verb 'ha-' originate from structural ambiguities.

The discussion in sections 2.1 and 2.2 have suggested that the verb 'ha-' in focus constructions is ambiguous between a main verb and a dummy (or auxiliary) verb and that the Complementation Hypothesis does not always work, as there are instances of a true dummy 'ha-'.<sup>6</sup>



### 3. 'Event-focus' constructions and their implications for verbal inflections

So far this paper has discussed sentences where a nominalized verb root does not contain a tense or aspect affix in it. It has been shown that those sentences have two readings, i.e. 'event-focus' vs. 'VP-focus'. This section and the remainder of this paper focus on 'event-focus' constructions and their implications for Korean verbal inflections. I provide the empirical evidence for the 'Ha-support' Hypothesis and against the Complementation Hypothesis and lexicalist analyses.

#### 3.1 'Event-focus' constructions with active predicates

As pointed out with regard to (5c), repeated here in (13a), the ambiguities observed in (5b) do not arise when a nominalized verb root is inflected for tense or aspect as shown in (13b).

- (13) a. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ess-ki-nun ha-e  
           C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Past-Nml-Top do-Decl  
           'It is the case that Chelsu drank beer'
- b. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ess-ki-nun ha-ess-e  
           C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Perf-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
           'It is true that Chelsu had drunk beer'
- c. \*Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ess-ki-lul (pam-nac-epsi) ha-ess-e  
           C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Perf-Nml-Acc do-Past-Decl  
           'Chelsu was engaged in the act of drinking beer (day and night)'

That is, sentences (13a-b) have just one reading such that the speaker of the sentence confirms the event denoted by the nominalized phrase, which is what we call 'event-focus' reading. The lack of main verb reading can be confirmed by the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (13c), in which the nominalized phrase carries accusative case which in turn can be assigned by the main verb 'ha-' as pointed out in the preceding section. The only difference between the sentences in (13) and (5b) is that the nominalized verbal root is inflected for aspect or tense in (13). At first sight, sentence (13b) does not seem to have any meaning difference from (5b), where a nominalized verb root is not inflected for aspect/tense, except that the latter has two readings. However, there are speakers who judge that meaning differences exist between the two sentences even in this dummy verb usage of 'ha-'. Presumably this may be related to the meaning differences between the following simple sentences:

- (14) a. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ess-e  
           C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Past-Decl  
           'Chelsu drank beer.'

- b. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ess-ess-e  
 C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Perf-Past-Decl  
 drink-Past-Retrospective-Decl  
 'Chelsu had drunk beer'  
 'I recall that Chelsu drank beer'

By uttering (14a), a speaker simply reports the event which occurred in the past or has just been completed, while by (14b) a speaker recalls the past event (or a fact) that he or she has witnessed (retrospective mood or evidential mood in Cinque 1999), or it can represent an anterior past in the sense of Reichenbach 1947, i.e., the past of the past: *Chelsu-ka yek-ey tochakha-ess-ul ttay, kicha-nun (imi) ttena-ss-ess-ta* 'When Chelsu arrived at the station, the train had (already) left'. The crucial difference in this tense between English and Korean is that Korean entails a retrospective meaning.<sup>7</sup> This meaning difference, including the anterior past, may probably be reflected in the intuition of the speakers who feel the difference between two sentences: (5b) *Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ki-nun ha-ess-e*, vs. (13b) *Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ess-ki-nun ha-ess-e*.

Noting these meaning differences between the two sentences and the close relationship between simple sentences and the corresponding 'event-focus' constructions, let us take a closer look at the 'event focus' constructions in (15). First, as shown in (15), inflectional elements can appear inside the nominalized verb root or affixed to the verb 'ha-'. In (15a) the nominalized verb root contains a tense affix, in (15b) it contains both aspect and tense affixes, in (15c) the verb 'ha-' contains a tense affix, and in (15d) the verb 'ha-' contains both aspect and tense affixes.

- (15) a. John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-ess-ki-nun ha-e  
 J-Nom the book-Acc read-Past-Nml-Top do-Decl  
 'It is the case that John read the book'  
 b. John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-ess-ess-ki-nun ha-e  
 J-Nom the book-Acc read-Perf-Past-Nml-Top do-Decl  
 'I recall that John had indeed read the book'  
 c. John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-ki-nun ha-ess-e  
 J-Nom the book-Acc read-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
 'It is the case that John read the book'  
 d. John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-ki-nun ha-ess-ess-e  
 J-Nom the book-Acc read-Nml-Top do-Perf-Past-Decl  
 'I recall that John had indeed read the book'

Since both aspect and tense affixes can appear in either verb, a simple complementation analysis predicts that both the verb root and the verb 'ha-' should allow both aspect and tense affixes. However, as the data in (16a-c) show, this prediction does not seem to be borne out. In (16a) the verb root is inflected for both aspect and tense, while at the same time the verb 'ha-' is inflected for aspect or tense. In (16b), the verb root is inflected for aspect or tense, while the verb 'ha-' is inflected for both aspect and tense. In (16c), both the verb root and the verb 'ha'



are inflected for both aspect and tense. These sentences are marginal or ungrammatical. On the other hand, the addition of a single affix '-ess' to 'ha-' in (13a) sounds perfect, as shown in (16d), in which case the affix '-ess' in the verb root can be analyzed as an aspect affix, while the one in the verb 'ha-' is a tense affix.

- (16) a. \*?John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-*ess-ess*-ki-nun ha-*ess*-e  
J-Nom the book-Acc read-Perf-Past-Nml-Top do-Perf/Past-Decl
- b. ??John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-*ess*-ki-nun ha-*ess-ess*-e  
J-Nom the book-Acc read-Perf/Past-Nml-Top do-Perf-Past-Decl
- c. \*?John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-*ess-ess*-ki-nun ha-*ess-ess*-e  
J-Nom the book-Acc read-Perf-Past-Nml-Top do-Perf-Past-Decl
- d. John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-*ess*-ki-nun ha-*ess*-e  
J-Nom the book-Acc read-Perf-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
'I recall that John indeed read the book'

Confronted with this problem, the lexicalist analyses such as that of Kim 1990 may postulate different kinds of the verb 'ha-'. For instance, the verb 'ha1' as shown in (17a) is not inflected for aspect and tense and it is subcategorized for the nominalized complement whose verb root contains a tense affix. This will license the sentence (15a). The verb 'ha2' as shown in (17b) is not inflected for aspect and tense and it is subcategorized for the nominalized complement whose verb root contains both aspect and tense affixes. This will license the sentence (15b). The verb 'ha3' as shown in (17c) is inflected for tense and it is subcategorized for the nominalized complement whose verb root does not contain any verbal affixes. This will license the sentence (15c).

- (17) a. 'ha1': {VFORM[PERF: -, FIN: -, MOOD: decl],  
SUBCAT[VP[NML: -ki, VFORM[FIN: +]] \_\_ ]}
- b. 'ha2': {VFORM[PERF: -, FIN: -, MOOD: decl],  
SUBCAT[VP[NML: -ki, VFORM[PERF: +, FIN: +]] \_\_ ]}
- c. 'ha3': {VFORM[PERF: -, FIN: +, MOOD: decl],  
SUBCAT[VP[NML: -ki, VFORM[PERF: -, FIN: -]] \_\_ ]}

In a similar manner, to license other grammatical sentences and to rule out the sentences like (16a-c), the lexicalist analysis may be able to posit the verbs 'ha4', 'ha5', 'ha6', etc. Eventually this way of stipulation in the lexicon may be able to describe the distribution of verbal affixes in the 'event-focus' constructions, but it also results in massive redundancy by positing various types of the verb 'ha-'. Also it does not capture the fact that all these verbs have the same function as a dummy verb in 'event-focus' constructions despite their differences in inflectional morphology and subcategorization. Consequently this cannot capture a close relationship between simple sentences and the corresponding focus constructions.

In addition, since the Complementation Hypothesis assumes a biclausal structure for sentences like (2b), repeated here in (18a), the nominalized

complement clause can contain tense and aspect elements as pointed out with regard to (17). Hence, just as the nominalized complement clause can be fronted as in (18b), it also predicts that the nominalized complement containing aspect/tense can be fronted. However, fronting is not allowed with a focused root verb which contains aspect/tense affixes as shown in (18c).

- (18) a. John-i [ku chayk-ul ilk-ki-nun] *ha-ess-e*  
           J-Nom the book-Acc read-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
           'It is the case that John read the book.'
- b. [ku chayk-ul ilk-ki-nun]<sub>i</sub> John-i t<sub>i</sub> *ha-ess-e*  
           the book-Acc read-Nml-Top J-Nom do-Past-Decl
- c. \*[ku chayk-ul ilk-ess-ki-nun]<sub>i</sub> John-i t<sub>i</sub> *ha-ess-e*  
           the book-Acc read-Perf-Nml-Top J-Nom do-Past-Decl

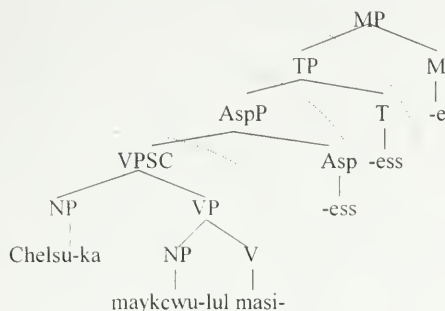
In (18c), the focused verb root is inflected for aspect and the fronting of that phase results in ungrammaticality. Furthermore, since the Complementation Hypothesis treats the nominalized phrase as the complement of the verb 'ha-', whether it contains verbal affixes or not, it cannot account for the contrast shown in (19) where the accusative case-marked nominalized verb without verbal affixes is allowed but its counterpart with verbal affixes results in ungrammaticality.

- (19) a. John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-ki-lul *ha-ess-e*  
           J-Nom the book-Acc read-Nml-Acc do-Past-Decl
- b. \*John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-ess-ki-lul (pam-nac-epsi) *ha-ess-e*  
           J-Nom the book-Acc read-Perf-Nml-Acc (day and night) do-Past-

Under the 'Ha-support' analysis, however, we can capture a close relationship between focus constructions and the corresponding simple sentences, and also correctly predict the distribution of aspect, tense and mood affixes. After the 'event' focalization process applies to a simple sentence at the phrase level, which includes an internal subject, the dummy verb 'ha-' is inserted to spell out the original XP position. I will show how this analysis works for sentences like (20a). The simple declarative sentence (20a) has the syntactic structure shown in (20b), where verbal inflectional elements are separately projected as formatives. I assume that the nominalizer '-ki' and the topic marker '-nun' attach to phrases in the syntax, like clitics. Hence in (20b) we have three possible constituents for the 'event' focalization, as the dotted lines show. After the focalization process applies at the phrase level, the dummy verb root 'ha-' is inserted to occupy the XP position left behind by XP focalization. This suggests that the dummy 'ha' functions as a pro-XP, not pro-X.

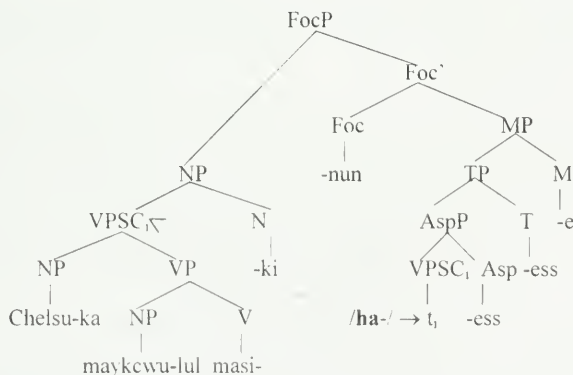
- (20) a. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ess-ess-e<sup>8</sup>  
           C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Perf-Past-Decl  
           'I recall that Chelsu drank beer

b.

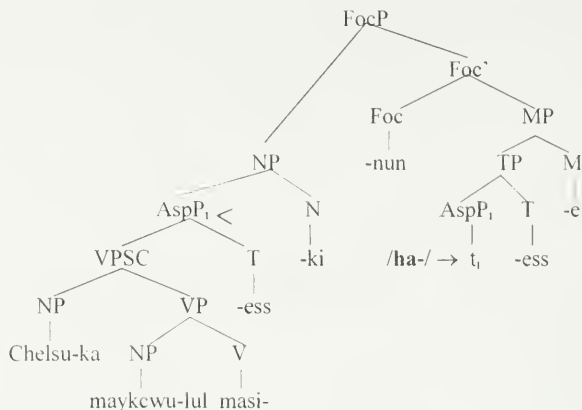


Of the three possible 'event' focus constructions from (20b), I represent two of them in (21) for illustration. Since the landing site of the focused phrase accompanied by nominalization is not an issue here and does not affect the purpose of this paper, I simply assume that it is positioned in the Spec of a higher functional phrase (FocP). What is important is that the relationship between sentences (20a) and (21) can be naturally captured by the assumption that each inflectional affix is projected to a syntactic head and whenever an XP position is focalized, a dummy verb root 'ha-' is inserted to occupy the original XP position. Hence, (21a) corresponds to 'event-focus' in VP with an internal subject while (21b) is 'event-focus' in AspP.<sup>9</sup>

- (21) a. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ki-nun ha-ess-ess-e  
 'I recall that Chelsu indeed drank beer'



- b. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ess-ki-nun ha-ess-e  
 'I recall that Chelsu indeed drank beer'



As the two structures in (21) show, 'ha-' is inserted as a dummy verbal stem for the trace of VPSC and AspP, respectively. I assume that the dummy verb 'ha-' is not inserted in the syntax but at the spell-out in order to satisfy the morphological requirement in the morphological structure in the sense of the Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993). Hence the verb 'ha-' in 'event-focus' constructions is not base-generated but inserted to occupy the original XP position or support the affixes stranded as a result of the syntactic process.<sup>10</sup>

The 'Ha-support' analysis can also account for why (16a-c), repeated here, are degraded in acceptability.

- (16) a. \*? John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-ess-ess-ki-nun ha-ess-e  
 J-Nom the book-Acc read-Perf-Past-Nml-Top do-Perf/Past-Decl  
 b. ??John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-ess-ki-nun ha-ess-ess-e  
 J-Nom the book-Acc read-Perf/Past-Nml-Top do-Perf/Past-Decl  
 c. \*?John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-ess-ess-ki-nun ha-ess-ess-e  
 J-Nom the book-Acc read-Perf-Past-Nml-Top do-Perf/Past-Decl  
 d. John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-ess-ki-nun ha-ess-e  
 J-Nom the book-Acc read-Perf-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
 'It is the case that John had read the book'

The marginal acceptance of these sentences seems to be related to the fact that the simple sentence (22a) is marginal or ungrammatical. Since I have assumed so far that in Korean, aspect and tense affixes '-ess-ess' are each projected to the corresponding head in the syntactic structure, the ungrammaticality of the sentence (22a) becomes immediately obvious. That is, there is no syntactic head for the projection of an additional affix '-ess' whatever its function, other than aspect and tense. Hence a sequence of three affixes '-ess-ess-ess' is not allowed. Therefore the focus constructions (16a-c) derived from (22a) are bad. On the other hand,

(16d) is grammatical because its corresponding simple sentence (22b) is grammatical.

- (22) a. \*?Chelsu-ka maykewu-lul masi-ess-ess-ess-e  
           C-Nom   beer-Acc    drink-?-Perf-Past-Decl  
       b. Chelsu-ka maykewu-lul masi-ess-ess-e  
           C-Nom   beer-Acc    drink-Perf-Past-Decl  
           'Chelsu had drunk beer'

The 'Ha-support' analysis can also account for why (18c), repeated here, is ungrammatical.

- (18) a. John-i [ku chayk-ul ilk-ki-nun]    *ha-ess-e*  
           J-Nom   the book-Acc read-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
       b. [ku chayk-ul ilk-ki-nun]<sub>i</sub> John-i   *t<sub>i</sub> ha-ess-e*  
           the book-Acc read-Nml-Top J-Nom   do-Past-Decl  
       c. \*[ku chayk-ul ilk-ess-ki-nun]<sub>i</sub> John-i *t<sub>i</sub> ha-ess-e*  
           the book-Acc read-Perf-Nml-Top J-Nom do-Past-Decl

As shown in (20) and (21), phrases equal to or larger than VPSC, which include a subject, are focused as 'event-focus' constructions. The nominalizer '-ki' and the topic maker '-nun' attach to phrases in syntax, like clitics.<sup>11</sup> The scrambled sentence (18c) is derived from the structure (21b). In this structure, the fronted materials in (18c) are not a constituent syntactically. Therefore, they cannot be fronted.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, in (18b) the fronting is allowed because 'ha-' functions as a main verb, which takes the fronted phrase as a complement, not as the dummy verb 'ha-', as pointed out in section 2. That is, the verb 'ha-' in (18b) corresponds to the one in (5b') and (7), which I call 'VP-focus' construction.<sup>13</sup> Finally the contrast shown in (19), repeated here, results from the differences in the verb 'ha-': the one in (19a) functions as a main verb and hence can assign accusative case to the nominalized phrase and can be modified by an adverb as pointed out in section 2, while the one in (19b) functions as a dummy verb, which cannot assign structural case and cannot be modified by an adverb.

- (19) a. John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-ki-lul (pam-nac-epsi) *ha-ess-e*  
           J-Nom   the book-Acc read-Nml-Acc (day and night) do-Past-Decl  
       b. \*John-i ku chayk-ul ilk-ess-ki-lul (pam-nac-epsi) *ha-ess-e*  
           J-Nom   the book-Acc read-Perf-Nml-Acc do-Past-Decl

Therefore, the 'Ha-support' analysis provides a systematic account of the distribution of the dummy verb 'ha-' and inflectional affixes, captures a close relationship between simple sentences and corresponding focus constructions, and accounts for why scrambling is allowed in some cases but not in other cases. This argument has been made possible under the assumption that Korean verbal inflectional affixes are independently projected as syntactic formatives. In the following three sections, I argue that the 'Ha-support' analysis can also provide a systematic account of morpho-syntactic properties of sentences whose verb is stative and contains other inflectional affixes such as progressive aspect. Then I

address the possibility of different interpretations depending on the different domains of focalization.

### 3.2 'Event-focus' constructions with stative predicates

This section examines cases which have only the 'event-focus' (i.e., dummy verb 'ha-') reading: i.e., sentences whose main verbs are stative predicates, as the following sentences show.

- (23) a. Younghee-ka yeypu-ki-nun ha-ess-ta  
           Y-Nom           pretty-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
           'It is the case that Younghee was pretty.'
- b. Younghee-ka haksayng-i-ki-nun ha-ess-ta  
           Y-Nom           student-be-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
           'It is the case that Younghee was a student.'
- c. Younghee-ka cip-ey iss-ki-nun ha-ess-ta  
           Y-Nom           home-Loc stay-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
           'It is the case that Younghee was at home.'

Since we have assumed that the nominalizer '-ki' is attached to a phrase including a subject in 'event-focus' constructions, it is predicted that a nominalized stative predicate alone cannot be scrambled. This prediction is borne out as the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (24) shows:

- (24) a. \*yeypu-ki-nun Younghee-ka ha-ess-ta.<sup>14</sup>  
           Pretty-Nml-Top Y-Nom           do-Past-Decl
- b. \*haksayng-i-ki-nun Younghee-ka ha-ess-ta  
           student-be-Nml-Top Y-Nom           do-Past-Decl
- c. \*cip-ey iss-ki-nun Younghee-ka ha-ess-ta  
           home-at stay-Nml-Top Y-Nom           do-Past-Decl
- d. \*Younghee-ka yeyp-ki-lul ha-ess-ta  
           Y-Nom           pretty-Nml-Acc do-Past-Decl

(24d) is ungrammatical due to the lack of the dummy verb's ability to assign structural case. In addition, since 'ha-' as a main verb requires an Agent subject, the lack of an agent role in the subject of simple sentences corresponding to focus constructions in (23) rules out the possibility of 'ha' as a main verb. Therefore with regard to stative predicates in focus constructions, 'ha-' has the dummy verb usage only.

Stative predicates also show the same morphosyntactic properties as the non-stative predicates with respect to 'event-focus' process. A simple sentence (25a) contains a stative verb, which is inflected for aspect/tense, retrospective mood, and declarative mood. Since each of these affixes is projected to the syntactic head as a phrasal affix, the syntactic structure will be like (25a') and the focalization process at the phrase level results in sentences (25b-d). So, (25b) corresponds to the



focalization of VPSC, and (25c) corresponds to the focalization of TP. (25d) corresponds to the focalization of the retrospective mood phrase but it is ungrammatical due to the independent reason, i.e., semantic incompatibility, or morphological restriction.

- (25) a. Younghee-ka yeyp-pess-te-la  
 Y-Nom pretty-Past-RetMood-Decl  
 '(I noticed that) Yonghee was pretty'
- a'. [MP[MP[TP[VPSC Younghee-ka yeyp-pess]-te]-la]
- b. Younghee-ka yeyp-pi-nun ha-ess-te-la  
 Y-Nom pretty-Nml-Top do-Past-RetMood-Decl  
 '(I noticed that) it is the case that Younghee was pretty'
- c. Younghee-ka yeyp-pess-ki-nun ha-te-la  
 Y-Nom pretty-Past-Nml-Top do-RetMood-Decl
- d. \*Younghee-ka yeyp-pess-te-ki-nun ha-ta  
 Y-Nom pretty-Past-Nml-Top do-RetMood-Decl
- e. \*yeyp-pi-nun Younghee-ka ha-ess-te-la  
 pretty-Nml-Top Y-Nom do-Past-RetMood-Decl

Despite the morphological attachment of the retrospective suffix '-te' to the verb, it is not directly related to the event (Sohn 1995: 42). That is, it is a speaker- (or in the question, hearer-) oriented suffix. Since 'event-focus' constructions are to confirm the event related to the subject of the sentence, the inclusion of the retrospective suffix in focus constructions results in semantic incompatibility. This predicts that the inclusion of any speaker- (or hearer-) oriented suffixes, e.g., evidential mood suffix '-keyss', into focus constructions results in ungrammaticality, which seems to be the case. Finally, since the entire phrase including a subject, i.e. the phrase equal to or larger than VPSC, is focused and the nominal affix is attached to the phrase in the syntax, the root verb and the nominalizer '-ki' syntactically never form a constituent and hence, it has been predicted that scrambling is not allowed in 'event-focus' constructions. This prediction is also borne out as shown in (25e).

The predicate in (26a) is inflected for aspect, tense, and mood. Since all of these are projected to syntactic heads, three 'event-focus' constructions are predicted to be derived, and this prediction is borne out as shown in (26b-d).

- (26) a. Younghee-ka yeyp-pu-ess-ess-e  
 Y-Nom pretty-Perf-Past-Decl  
 'Younghee was pretty (but not any more)'
- b. Younghee-ka yeyp-pu-ess-ess-ki-nun ha-e  
 Y-Nom pretty-Perf-Past-Nml-Top do-Decl  
 'It is the case that Younghee was pretty (but not any more)'

- c. Younghee-ka yeypu-ess-ki-nun ha-ess-e  
Y-Nom pretty-Perf-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl
- d. Younghee-ka yeypu-ki-nun ha-ess-ess-e  
Y-Nom pretty-Nml-Top do-Perf-Past-Decl
- e. ?\*Younghee-ka yeypu-ess-ki-nun ha-ess-ess-e
- f. \*Younghee-ka yeypu-ess-ess-ki-nun ha-ess-e
- g. \*Younghee-ka yeypu-ess-ess-ess-ki-nun ha-e

(26b) corresponds to TP focalization and the dummy verb 'ha-' is inserted to occupy the original TP position. (26c) corresponds to AspP focalization and the dummy verb is inserted to occupy the original AspP. (26d) corresponds to VPSC focalization and the dummy verb is inserted to spell out the original VPSC position. Similarly to (16a-c), the addition of the aspect or tense affix '-ess-' to the nominalized predicate root or to the dummy verb renders the sentences marginal or ungrammatical like those in (26e-g). These sentences are bad because their corresponding simple sentences are ungrammatical.

### 3.3 'Event-focus' constructions with the progressive aspect

The same analysis can also be extended to sentences whose main verb is inflected for progressive aspect, as well as perfective aspect or tense and mood, as shown in (27).

- (27) a. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ko iss-ess-e<sup>15</sup>  
C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Prog-Past-Decl  
'Chelsu was drinking beer'
- b. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ko iss-ki-nun ha-ess-e  
C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Prog-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
'It is the case that Chelsu was drinking beer'
- c. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ko iss-ess-ki-nun ha-e  
C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Prog-Past-Nml-Top do-Decl  
'It is the case that Chelsu was drinking beer'
- d. \*Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ki-nun ha-ko iss-ess-e  
C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Nml-Top do-Prog-Past-Decl  
'It is the case that Chelsu was drinking alcohol'

The main verb root in (27a) is inflected for progressive aspect as well as tense and mood. (27b) corresponds to the focalization of the progressive aspect phrase and the dummy verb is inserted to spell out the original AspP. (27c) corresponds to TP focalization and the dummy verb is inserted to spell out the original TP position. VPSC focalization in (27d), however, is ungrammatical. It is obvious that the dummy verb 'ha-', which does not involve activity at all, cannot convey the progressive aspect. Therefore this sentence, in which the dummy verb is inflected

for progressive aspect, is ungrammatical. In a given context, however, (27d) sounds ok. But in that case the verb 'ha-' does not have dummy verb usage but a transitive (main) verb usage, as shown in (28a). The scrambled sentence (28b) only has a main verb reading for 'ha-', as we have already observed in the previous sections. That is, its derived representation would be (28c).

- (28) a. ?Chelsu-ka tambay-lul an phiwu-ko iss-ess-ciman,  
           C-Nom   cigarette-Acc not smoke-Prog-Past-though  
           maykcwu-lul masi-ki-nun    ha-ko iss-ess-e  
           beer-Acc     drink-Nml-Top do-Prog-Past-Decl  
           'Though Chelsu was not smoking, he was drinking beer'.  
       b. maykcwu-lul masi-ko iss-ki-nun   Chelsu-ka ha-ess-e  
           beer-Acc    drink-Prog-Nml-Top C-Nom   do-Past-Decl  
           'Lit: as for being drinking beer, Chelsu did' (It was Chelsu  
           who was drinking beer).  
       c. [maykcwu-lul masi-ko iss-ki-nun]<sub>i</sub> Chelsu-ka t<sub>i</sub> ha-ess-e.

Finally, sentences which contain progressive aspect, anterior (perfective) aspect, tense, and mood heads are examined. Sentence (29a) contains progressive aspect, anterior aspect, tense, and mood heads. Hence, under the current assumption in which each bit of verbal morphology is independently projected to the syntactic head, it should be possible to derive four 'event-focus' constructions, followed by 'ha-' insertion.

- (29) a. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ko iss-ess-ess-ta  
           C-Nom   beer-Acc    drink-Prog-Perf-Past-Decl  
           'Chelsu had been drinking beer'  
       b. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ko iss-ess-ess-ki-nun    ha-ta  
           C-Nom   beer-Acc    drink-Prog-Perf-Past-Nml-Top do-Decl  
           'It is the case that Chelsu had been drinking beer'  
       c. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ko iss-ess-ki-nun    ha-ess-ta  
           C-Nom   beer-Acc    drink-Prog-Perf-Nml-Top do-Past-Decl  
       d. Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ko iss-ki-nun    ha-ess-ess-ta  
           C-Nom   beer-Acc    drink-Prog-Nml-Top do-Perf-Past-Decl  
       e. \*Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ki-nun    ha-ko iss-ess-ess-ta<sup>16</sup>  
           C-Nom   beer-Acc    drink-Nml-Top do-Prog-Perf-Past-Decl

(29b) corresponds to TP focalization, and the dummy verb is inserted to occupy the original TP position. (29c) corresponds to (Perf)AspP focalization, with the dummy verb inserted to occupy the original AspP. (29d) corresponds to (Prog)AspP focalization, with the dummy verb inserted for the AspP. (29e) corresponds to VPSC focalization, followed by 'ha-' insertion. (29e) is ruled out for independent reasons as already pointed out with regard to (27d).

Therefore with regard to sentences whose verb contains progressive aspect as well, the 'Ha-support' Hypothesis can provide a systematic account of the

distribution of verbal inflectional affixes in focus constructions and capture a close relationship between simple sentences and focus constructions. With respect to the various 'event-focus' constructions examined in this section, they can be represented schematically as follows in association with the corresponding simple sentence in (30a).

- (30) a. [ [ [ [ [ -----V]-ProgA]-PerfA]-Tense]-Mood] ]<sup>17</sup>  
       b. [ [ [ [ [ -----V]-ProgA]-PerfA]-Tense]-Nml-Top] *ha*-Mood]  
       c. [ [ [ [ [ -----V]-ProgA]-PerfA]-Nml-Top] *ha*-Tense-Mood]  
       d. [ [ [ [ [ -----V]-ProgA]-Nml-Top] *ha*-PerfA-Tense-Mood]  
       e. \* [ [ [ [ [ -----V]-Nml-Top] *ha*-ProgA-PerfA-Tense-Mood]

There are four logically possible event-focus constructions, followed by 'ha-' insertion. However, (30e) is ruled out due to the independent reasons pointed out with regard to (27d) and (29e).

### 3.4 Different interpretations with the different domains of focalization

Finally, the analysis of 'event-focus' constructions in this paper leads to the conjecture that depending on the domain of focalization, focus constructions may have different interpretations. It seems we get a difference, though it is subtle. Tag questions, which are similar to 'Ha-support' constructions in relevant respects (the 'ci-' nominalizer is the negative counterpart of '-ki' and 'anh-' is the negative counterpart of 'ha-' – cf. Sells 1995), provide a clearer contrast, as shown in (31).<sup>18</sup> The sentence (31a), whose nominalized constituent does not contain a tense affix, has only the negative interrogative reading, not the tag reading. On the other hand, The sentence (31b), whose nominalized root verb is inflected for tense, has only the tag question reading, not the negative interrogative reading. Hence, the different domains of nominalization give rise to different interpretations. The sentence in (31c), which is present tense, however, is ambiguous between the two readings. This ambiguity seems to be due to the different possibilities for the attachment of the present tense affix which is a null form in Korean, as shown in (31c'). That is, the null tense affix may or may not be included in the nominalization, with the result of two alternative interpretations, i.e., tag or negative interrogative reading.

- (31) a. [pi-ka o]-ci anh-ass-e?  
       rain-Nom fall-Nml don't-Past-Q  
       'Didn't it rain?/\*It rained, didn't it?'  
       b. [pi-ka o-ass]-ci anh-a?  
       rain-Nom fall-Past-Nml don't-Q?  
       'It rained, didn't it?/\*Didn't it rain?'  
       c. [pi-ka o]-ci anh-a?  
       rain-Nom fall-Nml don't-Q  
       'Isn't it raining?/It's raining, isn't it?'

- c'. pi-ka o-Ø-ci anh-a    vs.    pi-ka o-ci anh-Ø-a?  
       fall-Pres-Nml                                don't-Pres-Q

While not showing contrasts as clearly as the tag questions, some 'event-focus' constructions also suggest different interpretations depending on the domain of focalization. In (32), the main clause verbs negate the subordinate clause verbs. When the root verb in the subordinate clause contains the affix '-ess', the negation of the root verb sounds awkward. By contrast, when the dummy verb 'ha-', not the root verb, contains the affix '-ess', the negation of the root verb sounds fine. This contrast suggests that the affix '-ess' in the root verb functions as the perfective aspect, which denotes the completeness of the event. That is why the negation of the root verb sounds unnatural when it contains the affix '-ess'. On the other hand, the affix '-ess' in the dummy verb 'ha-' functions as the past affix, which does not necessarily denote the completeness of the event. Hence, the negation of the root verb sounds okay when it does not contain the affix '-ess'. This also suggests the possibility of different interpretations of 'event-focus' constructions depending on the domain of focalization.

- (32) a. ?Chelsu-ka cip-ul    ci-ess-ki-nun    ha-Ø-ciman.    ta an ci-ess-ta  
       C-Nom house-Acc build-Perf-Top do-Pres-though not-completely  
       -built  
       a'. Chelsu-ka cip-ul    cis-ki-nun        ha-ess-ciman,    ta an ci-ess-ta  
       C-Nom house-Acc bulid-Nml-Top do-Past-though, not-completely  
       -bulit  
       'Though Chelsu bulit the house, he didn't build it completely'  
       b. ?kkoch-i    phi-ess-ki-nun        ha-Ø-ciman.    ta an phi-ess-ta  
       flower bloom-Perf-Nml-Top do-Pres-though, not-completely  
       -bloomed  
       b'. kkoch-i    phi-ki-nun        ha-ess-ciman.    ta an phi-ess-ta  
       flower bloom-Nml-Top do-Past-though not-completely- bloomed  
       'Though the flower bloomed, it didn't completely bloom'

#### 4. Summary

In this paper, I have shown that there are two functions of 'ha-': as a main verb and as a dummy verb. Pointing out that ambiguities shown in so-called 'VP-focus' constructions, this paper has reinterpreted 'ha-' either as being one of 'VP-focus' in which case it functions as a main verb, or as being one of 'event-focus' in which case it functions as a dummy verb. Focusing on various 'event-focus' constructions, I have pointed out that the simple complementation plus lexical verb 'ha-' analyses such as that of Kim 1990 and lexical analyses positing different kinds of verb 'ha-' cannot adequately capture a close relationship between simple sentences and corresponding 'event-focus' constructions, and

cannot predict systematic distribution of verbal inflectional affixes across the nominalized verb root and dummy verb 'ha-', and furthermore cannot account for why scrambling in some cases is not allowed in 'event-focus' constructions. Under the 'Ha-support' analysis and the assumption that verbal roots as well as verbal inflectional affixes are independently projected to syntactic structure, however, we can precisely capture a close relationship between 'event-focus' constructions and the corresponding simple sentences, and also correctly predict the distribution of aspect, tense and mood affixes, each of which is assumed to be the head of an aspect phrase, tense phrase, and mood phrase, respectively. This paper has also pointed out that under 'Ha-support' analysis and assumed structures of 'event-focus' constructions, fronting is not allowed since the fronted materials are never a constituent in the structure of 'event-focus' constructions. Finally, this paper has pointed out that it is possible to have different interpretations depending on the domain of focalization.

## NOTES

\* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the CLS36, 2000, University of Chicago. I would like to thank James Yoon and Elabbas Benmamoun for valuable suggestions and encouragement.

<sup>1</sup> Refer to Yoon 1994b, 1997 for arguments for the syntactic independence of verbal inflectional affixes on the basis of Korean verbal (affixal) coordination. Yoon proposes that tense and mood affixes are syntactically separate from the verb, projecting as independent syntactic atoms on a par with the verbal root. Hence, verbal affixes in Korean combine with roots not by verb raising, but by Phrasal Affixation, a process that is distinct from head movement in the sense of Baker 1988, and fundamentally akin to cliticization in its properties.

<sup>2</sup> The affix '-ess-' can denote perfective aspect or past tense as pointed out in Sohn 1995. Hereafter, I will gloss it simply as past tense. Please refer to Sohn for the distinction between perfective aspect and past tense.

<sup>3</sup> At first sight, this reading does not seem to be obvious but in a given context the suggested reading becomes clearer: *tambay-lul phiwuci-nun anh-ass-ciman, Chelsu-ka swul-ul masi-ki-nun ha-ess-ta* 'Though he didn't smoke, Chelsu performed the act of drinking alcohol'; *Chelsu-ka caknyeney maykewu-lul masi-ki-nun ha-ess-ciman, whisky-nun an masi-ess-ta* 'Though Chelsu performed the act of drinking beer last year, he didn't drink whisky'. In addition, the main verb usage seems to denote properties of the subject, one of which is in particular 'habitual', not about a single event related to the subject.



<sup>4</sup> This lack of lexical attachment of '-ki' in the syntax is probably responsible for the existence of the reduplicative verb construction in Korean. That is, in order to focus a verb only, due to the lack of lexical nominalization in the syntax, Korean has a compensatory strategy, which reduplicates a verb as follows:

- (i) Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ki-nun masi-ess-ta  
 C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Nml-Top drink-Past-Decl  
 'As for drinking, it is the case that Chelsu drank beer'

Since only the verb is focused, it is predicted that it will be freely scrambled, which is the case as the following sentences show:

- (ii) a. Chelsu-ka masi-ki-nun maykcwu-lul masi-ess-ta  
 C-Nom drink-Nml-Top beer-Acc drink-Past-Decl  
 b. masi-ki-nun Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ess-ta  
 drink-Nml C-Nom beer-Acc drink-Past-Decl

If this corresponds to the nominalization of  $V^0$ , it may not be argued that '-ki' attaches to XP only. Instead it may be argued that 'ha-' cannot 'replace'/'spell-out' an  $X^0$  ( $V^0$ ) but only a phrase. An alternative view would be that PF, rather than syntax, is responsible for this reduplication phenomenon. Hence, we can still hold the view that '-ki' attaches to only a phrase in syntax.

<sup>5</sup> With regard to the position of the scrambled object *maykcwu-lul* in (12), it is clearly out of the nominalized VP in (12c) since the subject intervenes between them. In (12b), however, it is unclear that the object must be outside of nominalized VPSC. If an element, which is clearly positioned higher than VPSC, can appear after the scrambled object, it could be evidence for its positioning out of the nominalized phrase in (12b). Probably pragmatic adverbs such as 'frankly', 'truthfully', etc. which are kinds of sentential adverbs, could be those kinds of elements. In particular, Cinque 1999 argues that these adverbs are positioned in the Spec of higher functional phrases. Then the following sentence could be positive evidence for this claim: *maykcwu-lul<sub>i</sub> solcikhi [Chelsu-ka t<sub>i</sub> masi-ki-nun] ha-ess-ta* 'Frankly, it is the case that Chelsu drank beer'. Therefore, I assume that the scrambled object in (12b-c) occupies the same position.

<sup>6</sup> The existence of a true dummy 'ha-' itself does not necessarily provide argument against the Complementation Hypothesis. In section 3, however, we will see why a dummy 'ha-' does not work for the Complementation Hypothesis.

<sup>7</sup> Sohn 1995 does not address the retrospective meaning of '-ess-ess-', noting that it denotes pluperfect (past perfective) and that the first '-ess-' corresponds to perfective aspect and the second '-ess-' to past tense. Here noting that it can also denote a retrospective mood, I will follow her analysis with regard to the affixes '-ess-ess-'.

<sup>8</sup> I assume that subjects in Korean are generated internal to VPSC and that they may stay inside VPSC in overt syntax (= S-structure), following Yoon (1994a-b).

<sup>9</sup> The analysis suggests the following difference between English 'do-support' and Korean 'ha-support': the former is inserted in T (or Agr) (Pollock 1989), while the latter is inserted to spell out different kinds of XPs left behind by XP focalization.

<sup>10</sup> With regard to the nominalizer '-ki'. I have assumed that it is a phrasal affix attached to the phrase levels in the syntax, projecting to the syntactic head as shown in (21). An alternative view would state that '-ki' is never projected in the syntax but inserted at the PF/Morphological Structure as the spell-out just like the insertion of the dummy verb 'ha'. That is, suppose that the topic marker '-(n)un' projects to the head of the FocP above the MP and focalized phrases such as VP, AspP, etc. occupy the Spec of FocP. However, the head of FocP, i.e., topic marker '-(n)un', cannot attach to verbal elements. Hence, at the spell-out '-ki' is inserted for the nominal affix '-(n)un' to attach to, satisfying the morphological requirement. Consequently, the 'event-focalization' process is accompanied by two dummy elements, i.e., one is a dummy verb 'ha-', which functions as a pro-XP, and the other is a dummy nominalizer '-ki', both necessary for the satisfaction of the morphological requirement.

<sup>11</sup> As already pointed out in the preceding section, this predicts that the nominalized verb itself cannot be scrambled because '-ki' does not attach to V<sup>0</sup> but only to phrase levels. This prediction is borne out as shown below:

- (i) \*masi-ki-nun<sub>i</sub> Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul t<sub>i</sub> ha-ess-ta
- (ii) \*masi-ki-nun<sub>i</sub> maykcwu-lul t<sub>i</sub> Chelsu-ka ha-ess-ta

<sup>12</sup> In the proposed analysis, it is predicted that the object alone can be scrambled. This prediction is borne out as shown in the following sentences where (i) corresponds to (21a) and (ii) to (21b):

- (i) maykcwu-lul Chelsu-ka masi-ki-nun ha-ess-ess-e
- (ii) maykcwu-lul Chelsu-ka masi-ess-ki-nun ha-ess-e

<sup>13</sup> (18b) is derived from the following structure: [<sub>MP</sub>[<sub>TP</sub>[<sub>VPSC</sub> Chelsu-ka [<sub>KP</sub>[<sub>VPSC</sub> pro maykcwu-lul masi-]ki-nun/lul] ha]-ess]-e]. That is, the KP is the object complement of the transitive verb 'ha-'. In this structure, just as normal object noun phrases can be fronted, so the KP can also be fronted. Hence, not only for the 'event-focus' construction, but also for the 'VP-focus' construction, the nominalizer '-ki' attaches to the XP, not X' or X<sup>0</sup> in the syntax.

<sup>14</sup> According to the analysis proposed in this paper, there is a possibility of deriving (24a) as follows: first, scramble out the subject of VPSC, and then focalize VPSC which contains a subject trace and stative predicate. This will result in the following structure: [t<sub>i</sub> yeypu-ki-nun]<sub>i</sub> Younghee-ka<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ha-ess-ta. However, this is independently ruled out. That is, in this configuration a subject trace is not

c-commanded by its antecedent, violating the ECP.

<sup>15</sup> In Korean, progressive aspect is represented periphrastically, that is '-ko iss-' together conveys the progressive aspect of the event. It may be argued that '-ko iss-' is projected together to the progressive aspect head, or 'iss-' alone rather than '-ko' is projected to the head of the progressive aspect and subcategorized for the verb whose form is suffixed with '-ko.' In a latter view, (27a) will have the following structure: [MP[TP[<sub>AspP</sub>[<sub>VPSC</sub> Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ko] iss] -ess] -e]. This structure predicts an additional focus construction: *Chelsu-ka maykcwu-lul masi-ko-nun iss-ess-e*. If this is also an instance of 'event-focus' constructions corresponding to (27a), it seems to be allowed due to the fact that the root verb suffixed with '-ko' can be attached to the nominal affix '-nun' without '-ki' and that the verb 'iss-' can be a host of verbal affixes without the dummy 'ha-'.

<sup>16</sup> Though it is slightly difficult, it is not entirely impossible for a given context to improve the degree of the acceptability of this sentence. However, this is only in a main verb usage of 'ha-', as pointed out with regard to (27d).

<sup>17</sup> This order of verbal inflectional affixes conforms to the hierarchy of functional categories that Cinque 1999 observed cross-linguistically.

<sup>18</sup> The data in (31) are adapted from Chang (1986: 16).

## REFERENCES

- BAKER, Mark. 1988. *Incorporation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- CHANG, Suk-Jin. 1986. Tag questions in Korean: Form and function. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 16:2.15-26.
- CHOMSKY, Noam. 1957. *Syntactic Structures*. Mouton: The Hague.
- CINQUE, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- DISCIULLO, Anna-Marie, & Edwin WILLIAMS. 1987. *On the Definition of Word*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- HALLÉ, Morris, & Alec MARANTZ. 1993. Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection. *The View from Building 20: Essays in Linguistics in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, ed. by S. Keyser and K. Hale, 111-76. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- KIM, Young-Joo. 1990. The syntax and semantics of Korean case: The interaction between lexical and syntactic levels of representation. Harvard University, Ph.D. dissertation in Linguistics.

- LAPOINTE, Steven. 1980. A theory of grammatical agreement. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Ph.D. dissertation in Linguistics.
- POLLOCK, J.-Y. 1989. Verb movement, universal grammar, and the structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20.365-424.
- REICHENBACH, H. 1947. *Elements of Symbolic Logic*. New York: Macmillan.
- SELKIRK, Elizabeth. 1982. *The Syntax of Words*. Cambridge, MA: MIT press.
- SELLS, Peter. 1995. Korean and Japanese morphology from a lexical perspective. *Linguistic Inquiry* 26:2.277-325.
- SOHN, Sung-Ock S. 1995. *Tense and Aspect in Korean*. (Center for Korean Studies Monograph 18.) University of Hawai'i at Manoa.
- YOON, James H-S. 1994a. Lexical integrity and the morphosyntax of verbal inflection in Korean Coordination. Unpublished ms.
- . 1994b. Korean verbal inflection and checking theory. *The Morphology-Syntax Connection, MIT Working Papers in Linguistics*, 22.251-70. Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- . 1997. Coordination (a)symmetries. *Harvard Studies in Korean Linguistics* 7.3-30.